

K. Mulcahy 1321

AN
IMPARTIAL VIEW,
OF THE
CAUSES
LEADING THIS COUNTRY TO THE NECESSITY OF
AN
UNION;

IN WHICH
THE TWO LEADING CHARACTERS OF THE STATE ARE
CONTRASTED;

AND IN WHICH IS CONTAINED,

A REPLY
TO
CEASE YOUR FUNNING,
AND
MR. JEBB.

NULLIUS ADDICTUS JURARE IN VERBA MAGISTRI,
QUO ME CUNQUE TAPIT TEMPESTAS DEFEROR HOPSES.

Dublin

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1799.



U N I O N, &c.

I Write not to the lawyer, the metaphysician or the statesman, my humble labours shall be dedicated to the PEOPLE; and if, by a summary statement of facts I can convince *them* that in the projected Union the hour of their redemption is at hand; I care not for the local or selfish sensibility of a *profession, a Bank, or a Corporation*. The anvil* heretofore consecrated to the Green, may now confederate with the Orange; and false eloquence and false reasoning may pamphlet forth the securities and the blessings of our independent constitution.—But if I can shew my country, that under that constitution she sighed for tranquillity,

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* Vide the Address of the Smiths.

ty, but sighed in vain, and that in the principles of that constitution are contained the reciprocal seeds of oppression and rebellion, she will think with me, that her tranquillity is incompatible with its existence. Upon this ground I fix my foot, upon the mere ground of necessity I shall rest the wisdom of the measure; for though I think as highly as any one can, of the probable advantages to be derived in point of commerce and national wealth, from a federation with the greatest state in the universe, yet I should disdain to consider those as any recompence for a constitution tolerably sound or tolerably tranquil; the measure I admit to be a strong one, and as in order to reconcile a patient to a violent operation, it is necessary, however distressing, to apprise him of the mortal symptoms by which he is environed; so it must be my painful duty to apprise my country of the inherent vices of that constitution which it is now thought necessary to support, by uniting it with one of a sounder, more temperate, and more vigorous habit.

In every species of political society, it is of the essence of government, that the power
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should be lodged in the hands of the few for the *benefit* of the many. In several states, both ancient and modern, that power so lodged has been practically exercised, to the *injury* of the many. But Ireland is the only country in the world where it formed a fundamental and theoretical part of the constitution, that the depression of the many should be necessary to the welfare and even the existence of the few. This vital malady, which was inflicted upon the constitution of this country, at the moment it first drew its breath, has grown with its growth, and strengthened with its strength; and to this source may be traced the inflammations by which it has been agitated; the fevers by which it has been deranged, the convulsions by which it has been shaken; and finally, those paroxysms that at this moment indicate its rapid dissolution.

After the rebellions that had taken place in this country, in the reign of Elizabeth, and in the beginning of the reign of James the first, the forfeitures of lands were very considerable; and James sent over two colonies of English Protestants, to occupy those forfeited lands: He saw, however, that in a country where those

Protestants had to struggle against the prejudices of an uncivilized people, differing from them in religion, in language, in law, (for at that time the law of England was neither generally known or administered,) and in all the habits of social life, some more than ordinary security was necessary for the protection of his infant colonies. He accordingly created sixty-seven Protestant corporations, giving to each corporation the privilege of returning two members into parliament. Here was the first parliamentary institution in this kingdom, (for the assembly of the pale was no Parliament;) and thus was an hostile Parliament created in as hostile a country, and consequently a government between whom and the governed, there was no relation but prejudice and reciprocal distrust; and between whom there was an essential adversity of interests, as fatal to the prosperity of one as to the tranquillity of both. Under such an arrangement every acquisition of strength to the great body of the people shook the security of the settlers, who constituted the government; while every forfeiture by the people, and every law made for their depression extended the territory, and fortified the power of the settlers. No system could be
more

more formidable, it induced a reciprocity of coercion and resistance, and any one who reads the history of those times will perceive, that the effects were adequate to the cause.

After the ensuing reign, when Cromwell had accomplished his mission in this country, he found it necessary to remunerate the services of his soldiery by giving them debentures upon the estates of the Irish proprietors, and putting them in the actual possession of the lands, until those debentures should be discharged : in order therefore to secure to them the then temporary possession, he extended the policy of James as to the modelling of other corporations, and so orderly, so general, and so successful was this arrangement, that not a single Catholick was returned into the first parliament summoned after the restoration, and which parliament passed the act of settlement, whereby the estates of the Irish Catholicks were transferred to, and perpetuated in the English adventurers. This kind of system however was little suited to the dispositions and the policy of James the second, who seems to have conceived that a parliament

parliament whose views and whose interests were diametrically opposite to those of the people, was not a constitution for the benefit of that people. He therefore declared war against the corporations, and proceeded to enforce from them a surrender of their charters ; but before his project was completed, his abdication effected what to England was a revolution, but what to this country was a confirmation of the system.—In England the Revolution ushered in a variety of statutes, rendering property, liberty and life, as safe as they could be, consistent with the security of well regulated society.—But in this country, not a statute of the sort was enacted, because the effect of such statute must have been to elevate the people from their necessary depression.—Statutes however were not wanting ; for this and the succeeding reign have to boast of an anti-climax of legislative policy, by which the people were in their own country, step by step, degraded into a condition inferior to that of the wandering Arabs.—And to preclude all constitutional means of redemption, they were actually deprived of the privilege of electing or being elected into parliament.

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So far however as a narrow and selfish policy could be wise, this was not without its merit ; and perhaps for the purpose, for which it was intended, the most exquisite refinement of legislation was that, by which education was forbidden both at home and abroad. It was seen that the circulation of literature and the progress of philosophy, may tend to give the people some troublesome notions of natural rights, may facilitate their communication with each other, and above all may teach them their physical weight in the national scale.

The effects of this policy upon society, and upon the face of the country, at length became too visible ; it divided the kingdom into two estates with scarce an intervening order ; a narrow minded and a selfish aristocracy, without any consideration, except that of supplying their luxuries, and supporting their authority ; a wretched and a savage peasantry without any obligation except to their Creator, or any restraint but that of their religion or their superstition. Upon the country it became no less conspicuous,—barrenness stalked over the face of the most fertile plains ; and
emigration

emigration desolated every village ! a country on which the God of nature had lavished natural properties even to excess, which from its climate, its soil, its situation, its rivers, and its harbours, supplied all the means for art, for agriculture, and for commerce, was by the fatality of its constitutional organization denied the benefit of those natural advantages, and the bounty and the providence of heaven, marred and blasted by the weakness and the wickedness of man. This is no caricature,—it will be established by two facts within our recollection: namely, that until within these few years every body who could afford the luxury of covering was cloathed, and every body who could afford the luxury of bread was fed by Great Britain. It was a nation of herdsmen and of dairy-men,—the art of making rent was the only art known or cultivated;—this indeed had the sanction, nay the attention of the aristocracy, who made the strictest half yearly enquiries into the progress of the people in this mystery, but it exclusively consisted in the art of rearing and fattening, or of milking and making butter,—such of them however

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as upon this half yearly examination appeared to have made no advances in the science, were sure to undergo a certain punishment, known in those days by the name of "distress,"—and when by this process they had been deprived of all the implements of their trade, the country presenting no other requisition for their labour, either by manufactory or cultivation; they were sent a drift, however,

The world was wide before them where to chuse,
A place of rest, and Providence their guide.

But when in shoals, their raggedness, and their famine, offended the eye of delicacy or of luxury, the senate was made to ring with invective declamations upon the natural and unconquerable indolence of the Irish character.

At length our present gracious sovereign came to the throne, a Briton and a patriot—the agitation that succeeded the revolution, and the establishment of the house of Hanover in Great Britain down to the death of George the second, together with the wars of that period, kept the administration too busy to

turn their thoughts to the prosperous government of this country. Until then, this country was governed with little or no interference from England by its own aristocracy, who governed the Lord Lieutenant of the day, or in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, by lords justices, members of that aristocracy. If the voice of the people sometimes could reach the humanity and wisdom of the nobleman who presided, it was only by touching his sensibility to shew him the incapacity of his situation. The parliament was in the hands of the aristocracy, and that engine had made that aristocracy as much too strong for the Lord Lieutenant, as for the people.

Representations to this effect by Lords Lieutenant upon their return, who during their continuance here, felt themselves mere pageants in the hands of the aristocracy, alarmed the sovereign and councils of Great Britain—the strides which that body had taken to render themselves independent of Great Britain wanted nothing, save that *they had not as yet arrayed an army to support their pretensions and their power.*

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To break that aristocracy therefore by dividing them, was the moderate and ineffectual policy of the day, and for that purpose, the British Government sent over Lord Townsend, a foldier and a statesman; who had displayed the laurels of his country in different quarters of the globe, and whose character was as much above the effects of faction, as of personal intimidation.

And here let me be suffered to lament the situation of a Viceroy or Minister who is sent, or *who at the express desire of his sovereign* comes over to administer this kingdom; he comes over to govern a country avowedly overwhelmed with calamities,—if he be a just, an upright, and a firm man, he knows and he feels that it is in vain to crop the weed unless he plucks out the root; but here is the difficulty; where the root lies must depend upon a moral and political knowledge of the country, and from whom is he to acquire that knowledge in a country where local interests bias, and where prejudice depraves the heart and weakens the understanding? if he comes in the heat of conflict, he meets not a single

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individual

individual who is not a partizan, and from a partizan he cannot expect much impartial information. There is under heaven but one course for him to adopt, and that is, to depend upon the strength of his own judgment—he may rely upon it, that time will develop the causes by shewing the effects,—let him see whether the prosecutions, and above all, the punishments breathe the spirit of justice or of malignity,—*let him see whether the acquittals breathe the spirit of mercy or of party*,—and finally, let him see whether the probability was stronger, that one party were enflamed with the prospect of obtaining, or the other maddened with the apprehension of losing political power,—if he should see that it was a contest of parties, in which the unfortunate peasantry having been first agitated by one party and frightened into rebellion by the other, ultimately became the victims of both,—he will feel that some modification of the system is necessary and he will adopt that, which while it is the least violent, is likely to be the safest for the imperial connection.

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The leading measure of Lord Townsend's government was the bill for Octennial parliaments, which evidently was intended as a blow at the aristocracy, but an ineffectual one.—It is of little consequence to the state whether the term of a borough parliament be for eight years or for life of the king, or for ever,—in England the same effects never can be felt as here from that sort of aristocracy which may be arrayed by a confederacy of borough interests; there the counties, the free cities, and the free boroughs completely overpower that part of the representation which is constituted by private property,—but here a coalition between five or six great borough interests, may for ever form a barrier between the people and the best intentions of their sovereign. The other feature of that nobleman's administration was to put down that part of the aristocracy which was predominant before his arrival, and which had theretofore utterly taken the sceptre out of the hands of their sovereign. But in order to put down *this* portion of the aristocracy, he was obliged to set up *another*, differing in nothing (so far as related to the people or the sovereign)

sovereign) from their predecessors in all those views and principles, which the theory of the system necessarily inculcated.

Had Lord Townsend been more vigorous, this might have been now a tranquil and an independent country,—the popular frenzy had not then become epidemick in Europe, and the parts of our constitution might then have been new modeled without over-setting the whole,—but since the new lights have arisen in the south, to touch any part of the constitution would be opening a flood-gate for the torrents of democracy.

From that period it has been the policy of the British cabinet to temporize,—the philosophick eye of that cabinet saw that it was impossible to govern such a system upon any plan of permanent regulation, they saw that within the last century the population of the country notwithstanding all its drawbacks had encreased in a powerful degree, that to uphold the system as it then stood, it would be necessary to encrease the co-ercion of the aristocracy in the same ratio with the numerical

rical increase of the people, that the natural progress of population would shortly outflank the line of the aristocracy, and lastly, that a system of reciprocal exertion and coercion could not be vigorous or healthy, but must necessarily verge to a dissolution, and therefore the wisest ministers that ever adorned the imperial councils, have from that period to the present, been of opinion, that an Union was the only measure by which this country could be saved from all the desolation of civil hostility. Such a measure however could not well be proposed to such a country until the eyes of the people should be completely opened to their situation, and therefore until such a period arrived, the country was necessarily governed upon the expediency of the moment, sometimes favouring the views of the aristocracy, sometimes granting indulgences to the people.

At length the spirit of emancipated America, in its progress to the eastern continent, touched upon the coast of this country. Every body remembers the magick and electrical effect of that spirit upon the people here in raising
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and arraying such an army as the world never beheld before, and its result in obtaining by that people from that parliament, a succession of commercial and constitutional advantages up to the year 1783, when what is now called our parliamentary independence, was finally established.

The declaimers in behalf of our parliamentary system put these salutary laws as instances of a certain dormant patriotick energy within our constitution which at times may be called into exercise. But I appeal to the people and to the world, whether those laws were not wrung from a sulky aristocracy by an armed community. I appeal to the volunteer parliament, that was then sitting at the Rotunda. I appeal to the parliamentary debates, whether the volunteer army was not arrayed against the Irish parliament. I appeal to the parliamentary journals and to the recollection of every man living, whether these salutary provisions were not the effect of the bounty of our sovereign acting upon the wishes of the Irish people.

Our

Our parliamentary constitution as established in 1783, possessed the same radical vice with our original constitution in the time of James the first,—it did not embrace the great body of the people.—Such an institution may be a pale, it may be any thing, but it could be no parliament,—it was a column with a splendid capital, and a corrupt shaft, but without any base. It had however three effects, and only three that I can perceive. It made the government of the country morally impracticable for the executive minister, but upon a system of corruption, commensurate to the extent in which our aristocracy was rendered independent of the imperial councils.—First the annual attendance upon parliament, together with the insect pride of fluttering in the sunshine of the court, increased the expenses of the aristocracy, and made them at once needy and venal; secondly to provide for those it was necessary to create a number of new places, which new places created a number of rival candidates, and thirdly those disappointed candidates formed a systematick opposition that blazoned forth to a people lately gifted with the power of reflection, all the frailties

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of

of the constitution, and all the corruptions of the aristocracy. The mischiefs arising from hence were never severely felt until after the fatal period of the regency, to which period, as to the proximate cause may be traced the dissolution of all government, in this country. That part of the aristocracy, who had been degraded by Lord Townshend, saw that since the instalment of their rivals, all the valuable incidents to power had been more than quadrupled in the state, and the regency offered them an opportunity of regaining their situation. The Marquis of Buckingham then presided in this country, and hitherto had the parliament at his devotion, but in spite of all his exertions to the contrary, a considerable majority of that parliament abandoned him to follow the fortunes of the rising faction,—every body remembers their overthrow, and the formidable opposition they afterwards arrayed against the government of Lord Westmoreland, an opposition consisting almost of all the talents of the land, and of a number of the old servants of government, who knew every spot in which the system was vulnerable.—In proportion as this opposition

sition extended, was the minister of the day obliged to extend the circle of corruption; so that in fact, the opposition by increasing the grievances and taxes of the state, purchased additional topicks of parliamentary invective, and fortified themselves with the people by enhancing their burdens. The system however went on until every moral, and every moderate man in the kingdom was scandalized, and until every philosophick mind considered the government as completely dissolved. * Peerages were publickly brought to the hammer at the treasury chambers, and with the money arising from the sale, parliamentary seats were bought for some of the friends of government, and others who already had

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seats

* This gave rise to a very ludicrous circumstance. The minister gave out, that he would receive proposals for a lottery, and a peerage—a number of written proposals came in, signed and sealed. Mr. Walker, of Dame-street, being the highest bidder for the lottery, was set down as the purchaser, and Lord ———, for the peerage. But in making out the orders, the names were misplaced and Mr. Walker, was apprized, that his patent was making out, and Lord ———, got an order on the commissioners of the lottery for 40,000 tickets; this brought them both to the treasury, where they met, and the scene was *bien comique*.

seats were paid for their votes. But was this the fault of the minister? Alas! before he is condemned let it be considered what sort of community he had to govern, a discontented people, composed of such jarring materials, that whatever was a benefit to one, would be a grievance to another party, and a venal aristocracy, who though their existence depended upon supporting the government, never contributed their support, without being paid for the job. If places were not in being, to satisfy their rapacity, or their necessity, places must be created, and then when the salaries of those places amounted to £100,000—the minister in dismay, asks one of them how it is to be paid? “oh! the easiest thing in the world; raise it upon leather—” “to be sure, it will principally fall upon the poor,—but what of that?” this unpopular load increased the opposition against the minister, and next year, a formidable motion is made upon the subject of this impost. The minister goes to his friends, “you see what a scrape you have brought me into, you must come down to night and support me, and send down all your members,” softly “say they,”

Mr.

“ Mr. Secretary last year’s places were remunerated by last year’s votes, we must have other places and other salaries for this job.”
 “ Why says the petrified minister, “ that will put the country to another 100,000l. expence, and how is that to be raised,” “ Up-
 “ salt, my dear sir, nothing so easy.*

About this time the French principles began to be diffeminated here with great diligence, and a society was formed upon the French model, the avowed object of which was to separate this country from Great Britain: checked as the executive government then was by the attacks of opposition, and clogged as it was by the weight of the aristocracy, it was disabled from taking any effectual measures against this society; the consequence of which was that their principles took a root in the country, extending from its centre to its circumference. At the head of this society, were a young man of high rank, some barristers, and some protestant and presbyterian shopkeepers and manufacturers.

* After paying this 100,000l. for his defence, the minister was obliged to disengage himself from the opposition by the previous question. The fact was, that he had not bought a speech for the money.

nufacturers. All this while the opposition by their harangues in parliament, and by exposing every thing that was to be exposed were hourly increasing the publick disaffection, and smoothing the way for the apostles of republicanism. Upon the great body of the Catholics the united Irishmen had attempted their arts in vain, but that body feeling themselves as loyally attached to the constitution of king, lords and commons, as any body of men in the realm, preferred their humble claims to parliament to be admitted within that constitution, in defence of which they were ready to sacrifice their existence.—Those claims were powerfully supported by the opposition, and the aristocracy feeling that upon every principle of natural justice their claims were irresistible, that their wealth and their number having increased in a great degree, and that principally forming the riches and revenues of the state, their claims were irresistible upon every ground of political wisdom, apprehended that the English cabinet might treat those claims with proportionate attention. They therefore, to terrify the minister, went through all the counties of the kingdom agitating the grand juries for hostile

tile resolutions, and the unfortunate country gentlemen were made to pledge their lives and fortunes, and to the best of my recollection their wives and children, that they would shed the last drop of their blood before any concession should be made to their Catholick friends and fellow subjects—I believe that none of the Country newspapers containing those resolutions were taken in at St. James's, otherwise it is impossible to account why Lord Westmoreland opened the next session of parliament with a speech from the throne, recommending that those claims should be taken into consideration; and I believe the aristocracy in parliament must have forgot the resolutions to which they pledged their faithful country gentlemen; for they *did* take those claims into consideration, much praise however is due to them for shaking off a prejudice in so short a time, and for seeing the question at a few hour's notice through the medium of liberality. The parliament was to have met on Tuesday—On Monday they had all their speeches prepared to follow up the doctrine of resistance—On Monday night a mail arrived containing some very strong arguments for concession, and so well satisfied were they

they by these arguments, that they not only voted but speeched in behalf of the measure, and conducted themselves upon the whole with uncommon complacency and decorum. This whim of the British ministers however, they thought might be carried too far, and they therefore proceeded to array an army of their own to support their ground against future concessions, and to controul the absurd liberalities of the executive government, and here was the foundation of the Orange institution.—The state of the country now became dreadful in the extreme; the United Irishmen circulating infection through the land, the great, firm and compact body of the Catholicks still lawfully urging their lawful claims. *That part* of the aristocracy that put themselves at the head of this army, and which I henceforth distinguish as the Faction determined to fight the ground inch by inch, as feeling it to be their last stake, and their *army proving* their allegiance by blood—ing themselves a little at the outset with the Catholicks of Louth and Armagh, while the government, unnerved and appalled by this new army looked tamely on at the depopulation of a province. Great Britain took the alarm, and

Lord

Lord Westmoreland was recalled to make room for a change of men and measures under the administration of Lord Fitz-William. But the British Government was not able to force such a Change upon the Irish faction—whether the proposed measures of this nobleman would or would not have been attended with beneficial effects, I will not take upon myself to say, but it is certain that the Irish people felt themselves deprived of the countenance of their Sovereign, when they perceived that a faction in this country, with a parliament in one hand, and an army in the other, could deprive them at will of the benefit of his intentions.—The effects of his departure however, wanted no colouring that could be acquired from the talents of opposition, or the intrigues of the United Irishmen, and the government of Lord Camden commenced under the most calamitous auspices.

The first great error in Lord Camden's government was creating an opposition in the Cabinet, whereby he not only impeded and distracted the councils, but created a degree of fictitious consequence for a personage, who, though high enough as to the dignity of situation,

preserved until then, his natural level in the ranks of diplomatick capacity. This mistaken policy was adopted for the purpose of raising a rival to a personage whose career, from the moment he appeared in the political horizon, until he attained the summit of meridian power, spread an irradiation around him that cheered while it dazzled his friends, but that awed and confounded his enemies. In private life, humane, affectionate and generous, the refuge of the oppressed, and the idol of his tenantry; in public life, the key-stone that bound the arch by which the two kingdoms were connected; quick, vigorous and penetrating, he saw by intuition every one of the calamities in which we have been since overwhelmed, and if his councils had been adopted, though the system could not have been preserved, the desolation might have been prevented.—He preserved it however as long as it could be kept together, and he may say,

Si pergamâ defendi possit, etiam hac defensa fuisset.

For when by the vices of its original texture, and the corruption with which its wheels were clotted, the machine was absolutely run to a stand, he carried it upon his shoulders until it fell

fell to pieces about his ears. The champion of the aristocracy, as long as its views were reconcilable with the interests of his sovereign, or the safety of the people, he and many others of that body, stood aloof as soon as it degenerated into faction. At the head of this faction, was the personage whom Lord Camden, endeavoured to raise to some importance in the council, a man whose elevation in political rank was merely the effect of parliamentary intrigue; in private life, vain, arrogant and ostentatious, and in publick life, though possessing a certain degree of technical and subaltern knowledge,—yet utterly deficient in that majestic expanse of mind, that constitutes the philosopher, and dignifies the statesman. Minute, consequential bustling and intriguing, he seems to have been peculiarly gifted for, foreman to a grand jury,—not an assault would escape ignored, unless it were the assault of an Orangeman,—nor a job would pass unnoticed,—but his own. To the hour of his departure Lord Camden, regretted the consequence with which he had stamped this, and the not adhering to the councils of the other personage; at the board like the two great rivals

of the Roman State, one of whom could not bear an equal, nor the other a superior; the most important councils passed away in the arrogant pretensions of the one, and the indignant contumelies of the other.

And now, invited not less by the distraction of our councils, by the conflict of parties, and by our religious dissensions, than by the express solicitations of the United Irishmen, a powerful army of invaders appeared at Banty Bay. Our Yeomanry had just then been arrayed, our troops and our militia, were loyal and zealous, but doubts and difficulties arose, as to their leader. He too had been created by parliamentary influence, and though he might have possessed a variety of good qualities, he had yet had no opportunities of acquiring military experience. A commander of that sort, arrayed against Hoche, was a formidable consideration,—and the confusion that arose in the progress of our march, but particularly in the south, and south-west, fortified the apprehension,—we escaped,—but another invasion of a more formidable nature was threatened. The standard of rebellion,
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was all but hoisted, and every countenance was overshadowed with the gloom of our situation. Every thing was at stake, it was no time for flattering a great man, and the voice of property, of loyalty, and of Lord Camden, were all united in supplication to our sovereign, for a commander in chief. He accordingly sent us an officer, who had, upon the Continent, raised to a very high degree the military character of Britain, both with our enemies, and our allies.—He sent us Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and so far we were satisfied. Sir Ralph however, had passed too much time in the military school, to hold even a military situation in this country. Had part of his education been acquired at a dancing school, he might have learned to cringe to a faction, and then perhaps, a sorry band of ragamuffins, with a few pikes in their hands, would not in an open country for upwards of two months have baffled our troops, and our commanders ; neither need we have been beholden for our final deliverance to the guards and militia of Great Britain. Upon Sir Ralph's arrival, he found that the military discipline had been relaxed, by the absence of
officers

officers from their regiments, and the military character degraded by a system of quartering the troops, by dozens in holes and corners through the country, perverting them into constables, or whip-beggars or any thing but soldiers.—And of this system he ventured to disapprove in general orders to the army. Scarce were his orders issued, when the faction assembled to censure the commander of the army, for daring to govern the army upon any terms but theirs. Lord Camden's pet, called a meeting of his own tribe, to turn out of the country the only officer, upon whom Lord Camden had any reliance. I think upon this fact, I may rest my case, and call to my sovereign for the destruction of a system that gave power, or energy, to a faction capable of such selfish and abominable iniquity. Every thing dear to man, was at stake,—every thing dear to man, depended then, as much upon the experience and talents of the commander, as upon the loyalty or bravery of the troops, and because that commander, in addressing his army, disapproved of the means by which their discipline had been relaxed, he must be turned out of the country. He said that
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the system had made them, "formidable to every one but the enemy,"—alas! it was too true. *At Castlebar, they ran away from the enemy, and ran over their friends*, so that if ever an assertion was verified, it was the assertion for which the faction turned Sir Ralph Abercrombie, out of the country. If the officers who attended Lord Camden's pet, upon that cabal, instead of being there, had been with their regiments, at once acquiring and inculcating discipline, there would have been for the historian of the times, a different detail of that campaign. The gallant Lord Roden, was not at the cabal,—no, he was then living with his regiment, as a friend and a brother soldier, inspiring them with a love of that well earned fame, that has since immortalized him, and his regiment. The gallant Colonel Vereker, was not at the cabal,—no, he was then at quarters, studying the temper, the disposition, and the spirit of his troops, and acquiring in them that well grounded confidence, which rescued the national character, at Colloony. And here let me observe, that parliamentary influence in the appointment of our field officers, is along with every thing else, a strong objection to the system,

system,—a man's having a borough is a good reason (as things go) why he may sit in parliament; but no reason at all why he should be a Colonel,—a man may sit in parliament, and do very well for himself and his family there, without having a precise idea of the geometrical relation that a square bears to a circle, but without that it strikes one he cannot have a distinct perception of the evolutions of a regiment,—more particularly if he was touching upon his fifty second year, when first he compressed the unaccommodating projection of his belly, within the unrelenting circle of a sword-belt.

Lord Camden now seeing that if Sir Ralph Abercrombie was turned out of the country, his own situation behind would be rather uncomfortable, condescended to remonstrate with his pet, as to the violence of the measure, and the dangers with which it may be attended, observing, that if things were not pressed any further, he would try and reconcile the matter to Sir Ralph Abercrombie. But that if it was made the subject of parliamentary resolution, there would be no alternative; to which the great

great man replied, (drawing himself up so erect, that a plummet dropped in a right line from his pole, would exactly touch the extremity of his heel) "all the men of property of the country, (meaning thereby the factious) are of opinion that his general orders were a censure upon them, and therefore the matter must be followed up"—so it was—and Sir Ralph was turned out of the country upon the eve of the rebellion.

The manner in which the country was organized for the rebellion, sufficiently appears in the Reports of the Committees; all that I mean to say upon the subject is, that nobody believes that it was a Catholick war.—The Orange Men don't believe it.—So far as the rebellion extended, a number of the peasantry were involved, and the peasantry were Catholicks; but why were not the Catholicks of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Clare, and Galway engaged? Or any of the Catholicks of the kingdom except those of a few counties in which the rebellion broke out? Because it was no Catholick war, and because the Orange Lodges were more general, and their power, as a body, more formidable, in or near the rebellious counties. In particular instances

I know it is the fact, and generally I believe as firmly as I do the leading articles of the christian religion, that the peasantry were first induced to furnish themselves with arms, and afterwards to assemble in bodies through apprehension of the Orange Men. The United Irishmen very industriously propagated, that the Orange Men were instituted in order to exterminate the Catholics. For the purposes of the United Irishmen, nothing could be more opportune than the Orange Institution, it gave them a prop to their lever; the supineness of government during the massacres of Louth and Armagh, gave colour to the supposition, and indeed, some gentlemen, *supposed* friends of government administering Orange Oaths, went as far as possible to countenance the doctrine.

Now, in the special penning the United Irishmen's Oath, there is no more abstractly immoral tendency, than in the oath of the Orange Men. It was the statute that made the one and the other unlawful; and I call upon the twelve Judges to say, whether if a man were convicted before a judge of the latter, he would not be liable to the same pains and penalties, as if convicted of the former; if then I am right, I charge

charge it as amounting to a dissolution of all government, that while illiterate wretches, who perhaps never knew there was such a statute in the world, where whipping through every corner in the country, and dangling upon every lamp-post in the town, for taking or administering *one oath*, a set of Gentlemen who made the very statute that inflicted the penalty, were sitting in publick committee in Dawson-street, under the nose of the executive government, publicly administering oaths, as unlawful as those for the taking of which they had as publicly * co-operated in the whipping and hanging of wretches. I know the answer is, "their oaths were taken for a bad, ours for a good purpose," but I rejoin and say, "that still remains to be proved;" besides that they as well as you would affect to be judges in their own cause, do an unlawful thing, and say they did it for a good purpose.

With all those means and advantages, the United Irishmen had a strong purchase upon the

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* The instances in which those gentlemen so interfered, were instances of good nature—merely to give some respite to the feelings of the executioner.

minds of the unfortunate peasantry, it was therefore given out and posted in the most public places, that the Orange Men were to be up, in order to massacre the peasants in the latter end of May, by which means they brought them into the field about the period appointed for the general rising.

I remember an elegant Italian writer, who says, that no one likes to read the detail of what he has seen; the follies and the virulence, and the carnage, and all the horrors of that dreadful season, are too fresh in the publick recollection, and to detail them would be

Infansandum renovare dolorum.

I shall therefore abstain from the recital.

After three or four tolerably plentiful crops of slaughter, the joy of the faction bereft them of their prudence, and they exposed themselves to the world. They went through the streets proclaiming, that it was a Popish conspiracy, a Popish rebellion, and so forth. That now, (thank God) they got the miscreants under, and that the first act of the next sessions should be an act to restore them to the incapacities of the last century; now the great advances made by the

the people, (the great body of whom are Catholics) in numbers, in wealth, and in consequence, for the last fifty years, however beneficial to the state was the very thing that threatened extinction to the faction. The prosperity of the people sat upon them like a night-mare, and to restore them to their peace of mind, or recover the ground they lost by the advances of the people, it was necessary the latter should be put down either by parliamentary or military extermination; and the rebellion afforded them the best opportunity in the world for their purpose; to punish therefore the rebellious peasant of the offending district would never answer; no, it must be an accusation and a punishment—general and extensive enough to involve the peaceful, loyal, and industrious Catholic of Kerry and of Galway.

The worthy and humane Lord Camden was not more appalled at the daily Bulletins of insurrection, than at the daily violence of his council, he saw that the irritating system would create rebellion, where no principle of rebellion existed before; that rebellion however created, must be put down, and that those causes by their reciprocal

reciprocal action and reaction, must end in extermination. He therefore conjured his favourite, that some conciliatory proposition should be issued to the deluded wretches; to this however he could get no answer but, "*whip, hang, shoot and burn,*" "why," said his Excellency, "you know that the £100,000 that was paid your friends for supporting your measures last year, is to be raised on Salt, and if the people are cut off, this tax must fail for want of consumers," to which he was answered, "*Burn, shoot, hang and whip,*" and so on, the changes were rung through every musical modulation of those merciful monosyllables.—At length finding that he had no influence in the council, and wanted power to enforce the measures he approved, with tears in his eyes he sat down and addressed a letter to his sovereign, for which a statue ought to be erected to his memory, by the gratitude of this country. He stated the facts fairly, that those gentlemen (he did not call them a faction) had now become so powerful and so violent, that he was inadequate to govern the country, that no one could be competent to the purpose but a military Viceroy of unshakable firmness, with all the circum-

circumstances of character of rank and power to support him, and he suggested Lord Cornwallis, and at the express desire of his Sovereign Lord Cornwallis undertook the task, invested with the rank of Captain general of the kingdom, and encouraged by the volunteer support of 30,000 troops, the flower of Great Britain.

As the genial dawn of the sun's inspiring beam, spreads joy and harmony over the face of the creation, while lightnings and while thunder serve only to blast and to desolate, so the moment of this nobleman's arrival, diffused peace and contentment through the land.—The pike fell harmless from the hands of the deluded peasant, happy, too happy in an opportunity of changing it for a protection! —But the pike so dropped by the peasant, was caught up by the faction to array themselves against the tranquilizing system of a determined Viceroy.

The soul and body grieves not more at parting,
Than greatness going off.

And therefore one more effort was to be made by the crest fallen faction—Flushed with the recollection of their success, in turning away Lord Fitz-William, Sir Ralph Abercrombie,

crombie, and Lord Camden, they thought, (and indeed they were right) that if they could discharge Lord Cornwallis, no other man could be found hardy enough to undertake the government of the country; and they would then have it all to themselves—*One effort therefore they made,* but repulsed as they were, they did not venture a second, and now they centre every hope upon resisting the Union.

For the present, though their power is suspended, the system continues, and Lord Cornwallis cannot slay for ever—If he were to depart without extinguishing that system, all the fires of *Ætna* would blaze again, and even the obscure writer of this puny pamphlet, may not be thought unworthy a portion of the general vengeance—That system is yet in being, the source of everlasting seeds and dissensions, that broke out in Whiteboys in the south, in hearts of Oak, and hearts of Steel in the north, that hallooed the Orangemen at the Catholics, and the Catholics at the Orangemen;—that invited the French to Bantry Bay, that organized the country for their reception, that hoisted the Rebel standard in Kildare, in Wexford, and

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in Wicklow, and replenished their ranks with soldiers, that brought our enemies three times this year into our harbours, that made widows and orphans without number—defolated countries—that has shaken all the security, and poisoned all the sweets of social intercourse—that has left us dependant upon Great Britain for resources, revenues, and for troops,—and finally, that system, which required the depression of a numerous people, to secure the power of a few individuals.

And now the hour is arrived when Great Britain imagines that the eyes of this country may be open to the necessity of an Union ; certainly they must be open to that or to the necessity of reform—That reform which by destroying the corrupt part of the representation, would give the people their due weight in the constitution ; but in the violence of this age the axe, not the pruning knife is the instrument of reform—And even in this country there is yet such a mass of democracy afloat, that open any of the barriers and it will rush in with irresistible violence—not that I fear a separation from Great Britain, even in that case—The marine of Great Britain is the most stupendous

dous power not only this day in the known world, but that ever was in the world. Her power by land is also for her size prodigious,—after sending 30,000 troops to this country, and troops to every other quarter of the globe, she has now 220,000 armed troops ready to march at a moment's notice; and shall Ireland without a ship, or a guinea to pay a soldier, except what she derives from the bounty of Britain, and which, to be protected from a little mob of its own, is obliged to depend upon the troops of that same Britain, effect a separation as long as Britain pleases to resist it, which will be for ever? It is absurd to argue it, but the effect of any effort would be, that Britain would have to conquer Ireland again, and Ireland would have to pass through another century of desolation. That prospect is horrible—what then is the alternative? Union—But we shall lose our parliament,—I have shewn how that parliament is constituted and what it was; and I have shewn that detected and assailed as it is, it cannot exist in its present state; but what shall we lose, and what shall we gain? We shall lose our own misery, and we shall gain the prosperity of Britain.—We shall

shall lose our misery by losing our distractions. The struggle for local power, the great source of our calamity will cease with the power itself; take that away, and your religious differences will follow;—It was the civil pre-eminence attributed to one religion, not any difference of spiritual theory that poisoned, both against each other, the *certainty* of who was uppermost in this world, not the *probability* of who would be uppermost in the nex;—Prejudice acquired an elastick power here, from the narrowness of the sphere in which it was compressed; but it will lose its spring and its energy in the relative greatness of the imperial circle.

As to any commercial prosperity to be derived from the Union, except what necessarily must flow from tranquillity, I do not mean to consider the question in that view—a pamphlet has been published, said to be by Mr. Cook, which takes a most comprehensive and masterly view of the subject—With somewhat more of firmness than of prudence, he anticipated a battle with the most enlightened society of men in this country, and accordingly there have been four and twenty speeches

from the bar debate, and as many pamphlets from the bar battery discharged against him. The only one however which as opposed to him has attracted any notice, is one entitled "Cease your funning" and this has attracted notice only because it is written in a vein of ironical pleasantry, and because the multitude are more inclined to laugh than to reflect.

For a while I was entertained by this pamphlet, but it all along convinced me that Mr. Cook (if he be the author of the other) broke the measure to the publick in the wisest, most ingenious, and most effectual manner. The great ground of the ironical attack upon him is "That the minister has in his pamphlet disclosed to the people the grievances of the state, and the imperfections of the constitution," but Mr. Funning is in such broad grin at the joke, that like a clown laughing in the street at a caricature, he does not see the puddle into which he is stepping, for in the next breath he says, "This," meaning the grievance aforesaid "has been ever so long the topick of the opposition and of the United Irishmen, and is to be found in every number of the

“the Press;” and so Mr. Funning’s conclusion is, that this secret which was only known to every man in the country, and which was carefully concealed in every democrattick newspaper, ought to have been most profoundly concealed by the minister, although the existence and the exposure of those grievances as admitted and stated by Mr. Funning, were the principal grounds of the measure which the minister had to propose, and what made that measure necessary—His next attack is “that the minister has cited the example of “France, as having strengthened herself by federation,” and Mr. Funning then infers that no true friend to the monarchy would cite the example of such a horrid republick, and that it was a sufficient reason why we should not strengthen ourselves by federation, merely because France did so,—I wonder Mr. Funning did not take offence at our adopting the Telegraph which was the invention of that Republick, or at our adopting their tactics, &c. &c. The same observation applies to what is said of Washington &c. but all this is too puerile. In the next place, Mr. Funning himself palpably confounds the moral, with the geographical

phical position of the country in order to charge the confusion upon his adversary.—The pamphlet in question says as plainly as language can express it, “ that our disunions laid us open “ to the attacks of France. That if the cause “ of these disunions were removed, the great “ avenue into this country, (meaning thereby “ the disunion itself), would be closed.” Now Mr. Funning in his gamesome mood puts it as if the pamphlet had said, that removing the cause of our disunion would remove us out of our geographical position in respect to France, and this is a greatjoke!—The next charge is that the author of the pamphlet in question has endeavoured to reconcile the two great contending parties of the country to that measure by shewing it to be the advantage of each at the expence of the other. Now in the first place Mr. Funning does not pretend to shew that it would not be for the advantage of each by which he admits the argument, and in the next place the only absurdity he seeks to establish, is that of trying to make two parties believe that the same measure is for the advantage of both, at the time that he shews to each respectively, that it is for the disadvantage of the other. But here the light
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of heaven is not more perspicuous, than the pamphlet in question. The Catholick is told that his present enemy, namely the aristocracy of the Irish parliament will be removed. The Protestant is told that all grounds of apprehension from the future ascendancy of the Catholick will be removed, by removing that legislature in which the Catholick has so many claims and so many probabilities to participate; and thus the Catholick is invited to give up his future hopes of power for his present tranquillity, and the Protestant to give his present power for his hopes of future security.—All the united wisdom of mankind, could not, under the existing circumstances have devised a more solid, ingenious, or more advantageous compromise for the contending parties.—And yet this, the most candid language, addressed in the most candid manner to both parties is attempted to be perverted, as if it was intended to delude either or both; but try it by the effects, and you see on one side Mr. M'Kenna a Catholick who has written very sensibly as he always does, approving of the union; and on the other you see an *Orange-man** who has written a thing upon the Union, running

This creature should be inhibited pen, ink and paper; from his love of ink, and thirst for blood' he seems to be begotten

running out of breath for fear the Catholick should be beforehand with his confraternity in supporting it.

The next humbug of Mr Funning is, that the pamphlet represents Great Britain as taking advantage of the time of war in effecting this measure, and justifying it by the example of the Volunteers &c. &c.—Now the pamphlet says, “That time of war is no objection to accomplishing a great measure; that salutary measures may be, and have been effected in time of war—for instance our parliamentary constitution in 1783, was obtained by the Volunteers in time of war—But the present case is stronger; for, as our enemies have now, in time of war, attempted to effect a separation

by a printer's devil upon a mad Orange-Woman. Speaking of an oath uttered in all the impetuosity of eloquence, by a gentleman of celebrated talents at the bar debate, he seems to arrogate to himself the quality of the accusing spirit, and of the recording angel; but he wants the blush of the one and the tear of the other, in a rencontre he sometime since had in support of government, *he met with an accident*, since which he is an advocate for courts martial—because he cannot endure the trial *per testes*.—I wish they would either give him money or marbles, and have done with him.

“separation, so we now, in time of war ought
 “to fortify our connection by Union.” And
 then, after Mr. Funning has raised a laugh up-
 on his own perversions and misrepresentations,
 he loses his temper, and betrays himself in the
 coarse and vulgar terms of “*thrash* and *stuff*”
 “and *nonsense*,” and the angry barrister breaks
 out in lamentations, that he has thrown
 away two years in studying Hatsel’s prece-
 dents and all the uncongenial graces of parlia-
 mentary attitude—His objection to the poli-
 tical arithmetick is also a misrepresentation; for
 when the English Protestant is added, by the
 Union to the Irish Protestants, the sum total
 will be the Protestants of Great Britain or im-
 perial Protestants, and not Irish Protestants—
 But Mr. Jebb’s objection to the political arith-
 metick is highly unreasonable, when several
 pages of his own pamphlet are like a school-
 boy’s sumbook covered with figures, and de-
 dicated to the rule of three—when this gentle-
 man suggested means of extricating us from
 our present calamities other than an Union—
 I thought he was going to be serious—But
 when I found it was an unconscionable dilato-
 ry, he was about to put upon the Catholick

at the end of 200 years, I gave him up,—look in his book page 28 and you will find this notable specifick for the present distraction. “*Let the Catholicks patiently wait the opportunities of time, and the workings of generosity in Irish bosoms,*” though in the preceding sentence he admits that any concession to them would be “*too great a sacrifice for an Irish Protestant parliament.*” This as a sermon, would be orthodox, because it inculcates christian patience and christian renunciation of all the good things of this world; but as a metaphysical argument, which should be founded not upon what men ought to be, but what they are, it is a curiosity,—and yet the gentleman who writes in this consistent manner, was one of the 166 who constituted (to use his own language) “*not only the numbers but all the talents, the learning, and the professional eminence of the bar.*” Now I will hold Mr. Jebb, the profits of my pamphlet against his, (which is at least ten to one,) take 3 or 4 out of the 166 and that the 32 make more professional money in the year than the remainder—nay, I will hold him the same bet, that I name one professional gentleman (who did not vote at either side because
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he had too much business, to attend such a meeting, and whom Mr. Jebb, did not condescend to name in his list of professional luminaries) that is appreciated by the publick, as having more talents, more learning, and more professional eminence, than the entire 166 taken aggregately except one*. Mr. Jebb, knows as well as any body, that talents may lie concealed for a long time before they are called into professional exercise, and therefore *he* should have spared the insinuation.

As to all the rest of Mr. Jebb's arguments, he is as Sir Anthony Absolute said, of Mrs. Malaprop, *a very polite arguer*; for every word he says, is upon his adversary's side of the question. After having displayed his profound researches in Chalmers, and Adam Smith, and having shewn us that the relation of Scotland to England, at the time of the Union, was but as 1 to 28, and that it has since raised in the political barometer, 20 degrees, and is

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* The fact is, that of the 166 there were not above 15 whose voices are tolerably familiar with the ear of the bench, —many who had lately come to the bar, many who had long since left it, and these are the sort of men, that *in general* attend such meetings.

now as 1 to 8, and that too under all possible disadvantages of soil and climate, &c. &c. he says that Ireland will not improve from the same cause, because she possesses all the advantages that Scotland wanted.—This is not an argument *a fortiori*,—but this was one of the 166.

To all the pamphlets that have been written, and to all the arguments that have been urged against an Union, one observation will apply.—They all admit our present state of calamity,—they all admit the imperfection of our constitutional system,—they all disapprove of an Union, and not one of them proposes any other means of redress. It is holding this language,—“there you are poor Ireland, in a mortal state, the mortification has passed your extremities, and is approaching your vitals, a remedy has been proposed by some of the wisest physicians, of that remedy we disapprove, and yet we know no other,—therefore lie down and die.” But the commonest maxim is, take away the cause and the effect will cease; in the removal therefore of the present system, I trust my country will feel that her redemption is at hand. I shall conclude with an observation,

which

which strikes me, as having uncommon weight. The publick must take notice, that the leaders of that party, who have been for these last ten years involving us in confusion by displaying all the defects of our parliamentary system, and labouring to bring that system to the ground, aware as they are that that system is the cause of our distraction, now take the other side of the question, and in supporting the system are labouring to perpetuate that confusion, which by attacking and exposing the system they created,—*valeat quantum*.

Dublin, 4th Jan. 1799.

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